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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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517 newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed
204 abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among
626 the leading circles of the Empire.

517 The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were
626 always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

[461] According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard
[557] work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who
[647] closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

626 Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipu-
661 late hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

626 In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordi-
154 nation to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils
782 fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,